

By 22
123



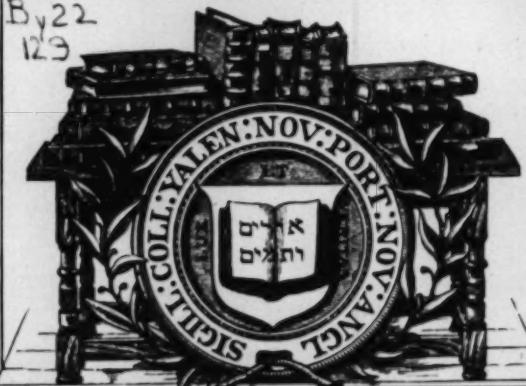
"I give these Books
for the founding of a College in this Colony"

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Gift of
Oliver G. Jennings, B.A., 1887.

1915

By 22
123



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BY BLOOD:

REBELLION

Blazoned in All its COLOURS.

In a Lively

REPRESENTATION

(Grounded upon FACT) of the Fatal

CONSEQUENCES

OF THE

PRINCE,

Exorbitant AMBITION in the

NOBILITY,

And Licentious INSOLENCE in the

COMMONS.

LONDON: Printed for James Vade, at the Cock and
Sugar-loaf near St. Dunstans Church in Fleetstreet. 1681.

YALE UNIVERSITY

7 1915

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Я ЕВРЕИ
И ОЛІОН

РЕПРЕСІЯ
І ОІТАЦІЯ

КОМІСІЯ
ЗАСЛУГ

By 22.129

Olive

JIT

TO THE R E A D E R.

I BEAR too great a Respect to *Modesty* and *Patience*, to intrench over-much upon *Either*, by a tediously superfluous *Preface* of *Eulogies* and *Encomiums* upon the *Manner of Writing* here exhibited ; and therefore, in This place, shall only, *First*, *Recapitulate* what may be found more at *Large*, in the following *Pamphlet*, (*Choice*, perhaps, in its *Kind*) and *Then*, speak to the *Use* and *Intent* of it.

NOW, upon the *Demize* of a *Licentious*, an *Easie-Temper'd Prince* ascends the *Throne* ; *Blest* with so faithful a *Servant*, and sage a *Council*, that, so long as he suffer'd not himself to be misled by *Young* or *Single* advice, the Government seldom labour'd under any greater Distemper then the *Ordinary Emulations* and *Repinings* of *Particulars*, for want of *Preferment* : But above a fourth part of a *Century* having, by Burying his *Partners*, advanc'd the *Favourite* to the chief subordinate Menagement of all *Important Affairs*, and he (as often happens in the like Cases) growing somewhat *Wanton* in the Royal Grace and Bounty, the People at the same time surfeiting likewise of an *over-grown Calm*, that had almost worn out the memory of their former *Miseries* ; there was cause given and taken (it seems) for a fresh *Fermentation* of *Evil Humours*. Nor wanted there some of the *Discontented Nobility* and *Gentry* to cherish them, as a *Means* of wresting themselves into such *Offices* as they had either lost, or thought they deserv'd better then the *Incumbents* : But finding all endeavours, That way, *Fruitless*, so long as the *Minion* kept his ground ; they attempted the *Rivalling* of him, by the

Exaltation of a great *Bishop*, who, though a bad man, and before-hand corrupted to their Party, held yet the *Second* place in the Kings good Opinion ; the Issue of which Project was so unhappily successful, that all his worthy Services were Incompetent to preserve him from sinking under the weighty Charge of having fill'd his *Masters Coffers* by *undue Courses*. The *Prelate*, being thus mounted into the *Saddle*, behav'd himself with such intollerable Insolence and Extravagance, that, had not the sober part of the *Clergy* seasonably interposed and prevail'd for his *Discarding*, he would soon have put the Authors of his *Advancement* into a Capacity of compassing their *Wicked Ends*, by alienating the Hearts of the *Subjects* from their *Sovereign*. This unexpected *Disappointment* oblig'd the *Male-contents* to fall again to Chafing the old *Popular Sores*, that were Then but *new Skin'd over* ; upon which *Expedient* they bestow'd so much *Art and Industry*, that, by clamorous *Cants* and *Harangues* against Arbitrary Encroachments, and Tyrannical Violations of those *Noli me tangere's*, *Liberty* and *Property*, they reduc'd the *Hare-brain'd Multitude* to a state of *Disloyalty* and *Desperation*, and the *King* to a *Necessity*, upon a general *Defection*, and lack of *good Faith* at Home, of casting himself into the hands of *Strangers*. Thus was way made for the *Promotion* of a *Frenchman*, who drove on at so furious a rate, that his *Master* soon became only a *Cypher* to add to the *Sum* : But his *Presumption* and *Overweeningness* quickly overthrew him, and brought about another *Traverse*, still more pernicious then the former ; as empowering the *Seditious* to do what *mischief* they pleas'd, while others bore the *blame* of it ; of which *advantage* they made such notable Emprowement, that by the *Corruptions* of Their *Administration*, and a *Famine* that usher'd it in, the *Mobile* were depriv'd of all *Patience*, and ripen'd for the perpetration of any *Villanies* : Nay, and to blow the *Flame* into an *Absolute Conflagration*, two *Ecclesiastiques* struck

struck into the Quarrel, and preach up the Rebellion to be for the Glory of God, and Good of the Church. Wherefore, to set all right again, a Parliament was call'd at last ; but it was so moulded and influenc'd by the Discontented, that it prov'd a Remedy worse than the Disease it self ; as being only intent upon exposing, not relieving the Necessities of the Crown, and ripping up, not redressing of Grievances, so to ruine his Majelties Reputation as well abroad as at home.

The King seeing this Pin would not drive neither, began to *spare when the bottom was bare*, beside that his good Nature would not let him hold on : Next, he pawn'd and sold all that ever he could rap and rend ; then, when those fail'd, and his Credit for Borrowing too, himself and Family were fain to be beholden to the Peoples Charity for their daily Bread ; and, upon their being tamper'd with to refuse it, not knowing which way to turn himself, as his last Shift he summon'd another Parliament, which extor-
te a Resignation of his Sovereignty into the hands of four and twenty, mostly of the Faction. These were no sooner seated in the Chair of Usurpation, but they turn'd out all his old Servants, banish'd his Friends, deny'd his own Brother (though King of the Romans) entrance into Dover-
astle, and suffer'd none to come near his Person, but only their Creatures and Dependents : Nor did they stop here ; or, conceiting that, by changing the Monarchy into the Rule of Many, they had secur'd the Game beyond the possi-
bility of an After-clap, they fell upon all Degrees and Con-
ditions of men, with an extremity of Oppression and Inhu-
manity. And these insupportable Calamities, would, per-
haps, have been much longer-liv'd, if they had not disa-
greed among themselves about the division of the Spoyl ; or the Three Ring-leaders, coveting to engross All, got a
new Parliament call'd, which gave them what they sought,
and a Triumvirate was thereupon erected ; in order to the
firmer

firmer establishment whereof, they bound the King, by a *Deed under the Broad Seal*, to discharge his *Subjects* from their *Obedience* to him, upon the first moment of his attempting any thing toward a *Recovery* of his *Right* : But this *solemnity of Act* notwithstanding, he soon after solicited the *Pope's Aid*, and they, as successfully, the *French King's*, levy'd Troops, rejected his *Proposals of Accommodation*, gave him Battel, won the day, and took him and his eldest Son *Prisoners*. But here again *All* was lost, by an unseasonable *Contest* betwixt the two victorious *Generals*, about the *sharing of the Booty*; which not only brought back one of them to his duty, but also gave the young Prince *opportunity* and the *good fortune* to make his *Escape*, gather up the broken Forces of the late Royal *Army*, fall upon the *Rebels* at unawares, discomfit them, kill all their *Chiefs* upon the Place, free his *Father*, and reinstate him in the *plenary Exercise* of his *Power*; which he entred upon, and managed with such eminent *Prudence* and *Moderation*, that, by rightly tempering *Rewards* and *Punishments*, by correcting his own *natural Infirmitie*s, reforming his *Court*, retrenching the *Expences* of it, spending the martial Heat of his *Souldiers* in *foreign Expeditions*, purging and filling up his *Benches* and *Tables* with men of *Birth* and *Worth*, being present in *Council* daily, and by reducing his *Favourites*, from a *Principality*, to a pitch only of *Accessoriness* in the *Government*, he regain'd the *Love* of his *People*, brought them over to their *Allegiance*, liv'd ever after, and dy'd aged, and in *peace*, and train'd up his *Son* and *Successor* to be the *Greatest and most Glorious Prince* of his Time.

THUS have you, as in a Glass, reflected to your View, in a plain Rehearsal of Matter of Fact, the dismal Effects of *Ambition* and *Licentiousness* in the *subordinate Machines*, when conjoyn'd with a *vicious Softness* in the *primum Mobile* :

bile : As also, the various Arts and Fallacies made use of by designing men, to cajole a credulous and wanton People into desperate Circumstances of Wickedness and Misery, only to gratifie their own Pride, Avarice, or Revenge. So that this *Tract* may serve as a *Memento* to all Princes, in contemplation of the Instability of sublunary things, where *Crowns* are no more priviledg'd from Violence than the meanest *Copy-holds*, and of the Fatalities consequential to a Dissolution of their Minds, Perverseness of Humour, or Irregularity of Will ; To study well, in the first place, the true Principles and Obligations of *Sub* and *Supra* ; to keep the Reins of *Government* strict or remiss, according to the natural *Bent* of the Natives, and the respective *Crises* and *Emergencies* of Affairs ; to censure, pardon, or reward, upon a due consideration of Matters in their *Essence* and *Intention*, being ever more careful to preserve the Hand, from shaking that directs that Scale ; to fill their *Thrones* with their proper *Bulk*, and support their *Grandeur* upon the solid Basis of their *Virtues*, not upon the feeble Shoulders of a *Creature* of their own making ; to prefer the Good of the Publick to all private Respects whatsoever ; so dexterously to manage the irresistible Impulses of *State-Reasons* for embracing, upon extraordinary Exigences, the *profitableſt* Counsel, though not the *honestest*, that of the *most*, rather than of the *best*, as, in the manner of such Complyances, not to ulcerate their Consciences, wound their Honour, or taint their Integrity ; and to obviate the Dangers of an Epidemical Corruption of *Morals*, and the contagious Influence of *Fashionable* or *Complexional* Vices, by setting, in their *Courts* and *Retiring-rooms*, a decent, paternal *Example*, before the Sons and Daughters of their Subjects. Here ^{as} may *Nobles* and *Gentlemen* behold the Patrons and Promotors of *Sedition* expiring by the Sword, the Ax or the Halter, and entailing Shame and Beggary upon their innocent Off-sprung ; and from these Rewards

wards of *Treason* and *Perfidy*, (collated as well by the *help'd as harm'd*) conclude *Loyalty* to be not only their *Duty* but their *Interest*, for as much as their *Weal* or *Woe* is entirely bound up in *That* of *Sovereigns*, (who are the *Fountains of Honour* ;) and as any *warping* from the *Rule*, must necessarily either *prostitute* them to the *intolerable Insolences* of their *Inferiors*, *rais'd* by an *Usurper* on *purpose* to *curb* and *awe* them, or else, under a *Commonwealth*, (to which *Equality of Degree* is *essential*) *reduce* the *Lord* to a *Level* with the *Lacquay*, and the *Marques* to a *Parity* *wirth* the *Mechanick* : Whereunto may be added, what ought to value most of all, that it is greatly *below* the *Generosity* of such *Bloud*, as derives from the *source* of *martial Prowess* and *heroick Atchievements*, (the *Original of Arms and Heraldry*) to entertain so much as a thought of *advancing* it self upon any *unworthier* a *Bottom* than that of *pure Merit* ; and infinitely *so*, upon the *ignoble Motives* of an *invidious Maceration* at the *good Fortune* of others, or a *loss* of its proper *Pretensions*, not only to *cast off* its own *Allegiance*, but also to act the part of a *Devil* in the shape of an *Angel of Light*, by *debauching* the *weak* and *unwary*, at the *price* of *Soul*, *Body*, and *Fortune*, *into* the *service* of its *Lusts* and *Animosities*, *shrowded* under the *plausible Banner* of *Liberty* and *Reformation*. And here likewise may All of *ordinary Rank* be *convinc'd* by *palpable* and *undeniable* *Arguments*, That the *Leaven* of the *Pharisees* is *Hypocrisie* ; that *Religion* flourishes, when *grafted* upon the *Olive-Branch*, not upon the *sturdy Oak*, or a *Bar of Iron* ; and that *true Zeal* consists not in a *brutish Fervency* *against* all things (*sensible* and *insensible*) that shall chance to *thwart* a *vain*, *lovenly*, *or* *antastical Caprice* ; in a *preference* of *breaking* *a crucifix* in a *Church*-*window*, to a *keeping* of the *fifth Commandment* ; but *exerts* it self in *good Works*, in an *universal Charity*, in *Peaceableness*, *Loyalty*, *Mekness*, and an *humble Submissi-*
on

on to, and Relyance upon the Wisdom and Justice of the Almighty: That a King is Gods Vicegerent upon Earth, and not Deposable upon account of any Error or Human Frailty whatsoever; it being most Egregious Partiality to pronounce the same Extravagances in *Him*, a Forfeiture of his Scepter, that *Themselves* are frequently guilty of, without being Fin'd so much as a Sol: That *Rebellion* is a Bewitching Sin, that still breeds Them woe, let the Fortune of the Day fall which way it will, since it is at the Expence of Their *Cloud* and *Treasure* that both the *War* and the *Triumphant* are supported; beside that nothing is more usual then for the Victor, as well out of Pride, as a politick Expedient to take down their Stomacks, to make his *Little Finger* more Insupportable to them, then were his Predecessors *Joyns*: That, tho' they may *Wish* for a Good Prince, it is their Duty to *Obey* a Wicked one; to correct their *Own Lives*, not attempt to take away *His*; nor repine at *Providence* for sending *Him*, any more then for sending Diseases, Plagues, Catarrhs, Caterpillars, Blightings, and the like; Evil Princes being only as Blightings and Blastings of a People that God is pleas'd to Punish: In a word, That *Lear* and *Jealousie* are the Basest of all the *Passions*, and make one wretched before-hand, out of a Dread of Miseries to come; and have This in Common with *Satan* Himself, that they are only able to do *Hurt*; that *Luxury* and *Wantonness* are the Root of all Mischief, Tools ready whetted for Malice, Ambition, and Discontent, to cut out their Villanous Projects withall; and that *Treachery* and *Ingratitude* are justly Detested, not by *Mankind* only, but by the *Divinity* it self, never *Terminate* but in *Infamy* and *Reproach*, and are capable of turning *well-order'd Communities* into *Nests of Wolves and Tigers, Thieves and Robbers*.

NOW, must it needs be a great joy to all *English Hearts* to find that, by being Blest with a *Monarch* equally Glori-

rious for Political Prudence, and a Gracious Tenderness of the Welfare of his People; and with a *Parliament* (in the actual Exercise of their Authority, and whereby the *whole Body of the Subject* is Represented) that bear as much Veneration to their *Prince*, and Affection to their *Country*, and promise as great things for the Good of *Both*, as have yet been effected by any like Illustrious *Assembly*, that ever those *Walls* had the Honour to Enclose; These and the ensuing *Aphorisms* and *Advisoes* (calculated for *All Ages*, and not to reflect upon *Particular Persons* or *Societies* now in *Being*) are made of less use and Significancy to the *Present Times*, then they might (perhaps) have been to some of the *Past*. And indeed the (chief Intent of making them thus *Publique* is, *First*, in one Instance (out of many) to let the *World* see that as pernicious Confusions happened in the days of *Idolatry* and *Delusion*, as *Protestants* have born the *blame* of, (tho' the *Papists* themselves *occasion'd*) of *Later* years; Thereby to wipe off the same scandalous Aspersion, by the *Jesuits* cast upon the Happy *Reformation*, that the *Heathens* threw upon the *Infancy* of *Christianity* it self, *viz.* that it works *Disorder* where e're it comes: And, *Then*, from a more remote Distance then betwixt *Forty* and *Sixty*, (a space that I could wish were utterly raced out of *Memory* and *Record*) to produce a *Foyl*, the better to *Illustrate* the *Felicities* of our *present State*, which, (though our *Forefathers* labour'd *of old*, and all our *Neighbours* at *this instant*, groan under the *Sword*, *Famine*, *Pestilence*, and other *Marks* of the *Divine Vengeance*, yet) still furnish out the *luscious Fruits* of *Peace* and *Plenty*, even to *Satiety* and *Wantonness*; so to endeavour a *continuance* of these *Blessings*, by stirring up in us *Thanks* and *Praises* both to the *Mediate* and *Immediate Author* of them, and *Brotherly Love and Charity* one toward another.

P. 13. l. 30. r. deemed, p. 27. l. 24. r. back; p. 30, l. 24. after is, r. it. l. ult. r. and
in debates of moment they, &c.

The Field of Bloud,
 OR,
 REBELLION
 Blazon'd in All its
 COLOURS,&c.

O ppress'd with the insupportable Calamities of *Civil Arms*, and affrighted at the sudden fall of a *Licentious Sovereign*, who was reported to have been Poyson'd by a *Monk*; all men stood at gaze, expecting *Peace*, (the Event of their long *Desires*) and *Benefit*, as the Issue of their new *Popes*: Experience telling us, that, in every *Shift of Princes*, there are very few either so Mean, or so Inopinionative, as not to please themselves with some probable Object of *Preferment*. To content all, (October 19. 1216.) a *Child* ascends the *Throne*, Mild and Gracious, but Easie of Nature, whose Innocency, and natural Goodness, protected him throughout the various Perils of his *Father's Reign*. Happy was he in his Uncle *William Earl of Pembroke* (the Guide of his *Infancy*;) .

fancy;) and no less fortunate, for thirty years after, whilst *Hubert de Burgh* (Earl of Kent) that *Fast Servant of King John's* against the *French*, both in *Normandy*, and *England*, together with *Bigot Earl of Norfolk*, and others of like Gravity, and Abilities, had the management of Affairs. Publick *Distempers* were then very few, and such only as are incident to all *States*, the *Commons* greedy and tenacious of *Liberty*, and the *Nobility* of *Rule*: One violent *Storm*, 'tis true, was rais'd, by some old, constant *Followers* of his Father; as *Foulk de Brent*, who (though a *Forreigner*, yet) held at one time the Earldoms of *Nottingham*, *Oxford*, *Bedsford* and *Buckingham*; *Brian de Lisle*, and some others. These being men of turbulent Spirits, and that could only Thrive by the *Wars*, were very ill at ease in those days of *Sloth*; (as they term'd that Calm of King *Henry's* Government.) Beside that, the *Justice* of *Peaceable Times* urg'd from them, to the lawful owners, such Lands and Castles, as the fury of *War* had unjustly given them. Now perceiving by the *Uprightness* of the King, that Power of *Protection* should not be made a *wrong-doer*; they broke forth into such a *Rebellion* as ended not but with their *Lives*; declaring that those their Swords which had set the *Crown* upon their Sovereign's Head when neither *Law* nor *Majesty* could, should now secure those *Acquests* to their Masters, when *Majesty* or *Law* would not. Thus we see how dangerous are too great Benefits of *Subjects* to their *Princes*; as rendering the *Mind* incapable of any other sense than that of *Merit*. This *Blast* being over, the Government felt no other affliction than the Common and Invidious Malevolence to Authority: Good and Great Men may preserve themselves from *Guilt*, but not from *Envie*; being still shot at, by the *Aspiring* of those that look upon themselves as *hſ* in *Employment* than they are in *Desert*. These Vapours, however, did ever vanish, without much trouble, so long as the *Helm* was steered by

Temperate

Temperate Spirits, and the King squar'd his Actions by the Rule of Good Counsel, and not of Young, Passionate, or single Advice.

Thirty years being now past, and gone, and none of the old Guides of the Kings Youth left alive, but *de Burgh*, (a man in whom nothing of *Worth* was wanting, save *Moderation*) his length of days gave him the advantage of *Sole Power*, his Ambition furnishing *Desire* and *Art*, to keep out others. This drew upon him the implacable malice of a great many, which was yet further augmented by the fresh *Honours*, and *Offices*, that the King was then pleas'd to confer upon him. Time had now wrought a *Revalution*, as in it self, so in the *Hearts* of the People, who had forgotten the late *Sufferings* of their Fathers, and labou'red under the surfeit of a *long Peace*; which having, probably, let in some *Abuses*, the *Commons* (to whom the *Present* seems ever *worst*) take the *Alarm*, fall to commending the *past Ages* they never remembred, and condemning the *Present*; though equally ignorant of the *Disease* of it, and of the *Remedy*. With these idle and usual *Humours*, struck in some of the young *Nobility*, that were warm and over weening, though altogether as *unskilful* as the rest: these fall to fullying the *Wisdom* and *Integrity* of the *Court-Officers*, by magnifying each casual mishap into a *Crime*, and exposing every *Blemish* in *Government*; and then having their Heads fill'd with certain *Idas* and *Phantastick Forms* of *Commonwealths*, they flatter themselves that they are able to mold any *State* according to these *general Rules*, which in *particular Application* do still appear to be but idle and gross *Absurdities*. Being thus puffed up in Opinion of their own worth, they begin to cast about how to get into *Employment*, a thing they had long desired, and now do sue for; and probable it is that the farthest of their *Aim*, as yet, was to be quiet Instruments in serving

the Crown, had they then been look'd upon as fit, and well deserving. But the King, having been tutor'd into a just veneration for the Counsels of the *Aged States-Men*, and reflecting that such *Green Heads* were fitter for disordering than settling Affairs; either deny'd, or delay'd their Requests: for Princes will ever chuse their Ministers, *Equal to*, not *above* their Business; *Creatures* that are *only* theirs, out of meer *Election*; otherwise, without *Friends* or *Power*. Amongst this unequal *Medly*, there were, of the *Nobility*, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Glocester* and *Hertford*, darlings of the *Rabble*; some of them upon the score of their Fathers *Merits*, whose memories were held *Sacred*, as pretended Pillars of *Publick Liberty*, and opposers of *encroaching Monarchy*. Of the *Gentry* were *Fitz-Geoffrey*, *Bardolph*, *Grisley* and *Fitz-John*; Spirits of as much *Arrogance*, and *Aerimony*, as *Camp*, *Court*, *Country*, (the places from whence they were *Elected*) could afford any: These were for attempting by *open Force*, what the other sought to effect by *Artifice*; but yet they were all of them equally Impatient to behold their *Ends* thus frustrated; and that so long as the King followed the Advice of the Earl of *Kent*, there would be no hopes of obtaining their desires. Wherefore they became frequent in their *Consults* and *Cabals*, day and night; and at last *Somervile*, and *Spencer*, two that were far in Opinion with the rest, as being Gentlemen of *Forreign Education*, and better qualifi'd than was usual for men of those times; gave it as their Advice, that the surest way to remove *de Burgh* (that great, and good *Obstacle*) out of the way of their Advancement, would be, to pry narrowly into his Actions, and side with his *Opposite*, *Peter Bishop of Winchester*; (an ill man, but in favour with the King) backing the *Motion* with this suggestion, that the *worthiest* being driven out by the *worst*, they should be able either to mate him with his own *Kite*, (which the higher he advanc'd would

would still be the more visible) and so remov'd him at pleasure ; or else, by suffering the King to deliver himself up to such bad *Ministers*, as would lose him the Hearts, and Affections, of his People ; they might thus plain the way to their own *Preferment* : Thus they projected the compassing of that by troubling the State, which, so long as it was at *quiet*, they despair'd of obtaining ; and so far did the success answer Expectation, that *Spencer* dy'd in actual Rebellion, *Fusticiarius Anglie*, against his Master. This advice now being approv'd, and put in Practice ; the corrupt and ambitious *Bishop* is by money and address easily brought over to the *Party* ; and *Articles* are in all hast forged, and presented against the Earl ; charging him with wasting the Royal *Treasure*, the sale of *Crown-Lands*, and (what these doubtful times held *Capital*) his allowing any thing that might create a *Rupture* between *King* and *People* ; as his prevailing upon the King to revoke all *Patents* granted in his *Non-age*, and enforcing the *People* not to pay according to their Ability or the merit of the *Grant*, but whatever the *Minister* himself should think fit to extort.

De Burgh clear'd himself of all the Branches of this Accusation, save only the *Last* ; under which he worthily perish'd ; for such *Acts* as fill the *Princes Coffers*, are still the destruction of their first *Inventors* ; Bad times, we see, corrupt good Counsels, and prevail upon the best *Ministers* to truckle to the *Lusts* of their Masters : Therefore this King is not wholly to be excused, that could so easily give way to the blasting the former Services of so faithful an Officer, for *that* wherein himself was *chief* in fault. But *Princes* are naturally more variable, and sooner cloyed, than *other men* ; their favours are more transitory, and as their minds are *Large*, so they without much difficulty overlook their first

Choice, limiting their Affections to their Satisfactions.

Winchester is now mounted into the Saddle, and Governs all ; taking for his Prime Instrument Peter de Rivalis ; (such another as himself) displaces the Natives, and advances (his Country-men) Poictouins and Britains, into Offices of the greatest Trust and Benefit ; and draws the King into an ill Opinion of his People : Nothing touching the English so much to the Quick, as to be domineer'd over by Forreigners. Here it was that *Injustice* became the Arbiter of *Common Equity*, the *Law* lay gasping at the foot of *Faction*, *Peace* at the mercy of the *Seditious*, and *Oppression* stept into the *Bench* to pronounce upon points of *Right* and *Honesty*, so that the *Plot* of the tumultuous *Barons*, by this means, advanc'd it self without so much as a Rub : And had not the Loyal Part of the *Bishops* calm'd all, by humble and dutiful Perswasions, and by representing to his Majesty, that his Supporting the Power of a Person whose insolent Carriage had but lately lost to King *John* his Father, *Normandy*, the *Love* of his People, and in that his *Crown* ; and who at that very season was no less industrious in tempting himself to reject in Passion, the just Petitions of his faithful *Subjects* ; the Case (amongst many others) of *Pembroke* the *Earl Marshal*, the Common Rights of whose Office were unjustly with-held from him ; would inevitably provoke *Discontents*, and endanger the *Weal* of the Kingdom ; the Rebellious *Lords* had, questionless, gain'd their End, by exasperating, and emprouing this *Distemper* into a *Civil War*. Denials of Princes are ever to be suppli'd with gracious *Usage*, thereby, if not to cure the sore, yet, at least, to mitigate the *Sense* of it : But it is best of all, that all *Favours* proceed directly from *themselves* ; and only *Refusals*, and things of *Bitterness*, from their *Ministers*.

Thus.

Thus now are the *Strangers* all remov'd and banish'd ; *Rivalis's* Extortions examin'd, by many strict Commissions of *Enquiry* ; the proud Bishop of *Winchester* (turn'd off in disgrace) is brought to experiment that *Power* founded upon *Injustice* is but *short-liv'd*, and that in the *Favour* of Princes there is no *Medium* or *Subsistence* betwixt the *Highest* of all, and *Precipitation*. But the Lords finding themselves still (by this *Reformation*) frustrated of their evil Designs, began again to cherish the late grounds of the Peoples *Disgusts*, by scattering querulous and ambiguous Speeches against his Majesty, depraving and questioning his *Discretion*, and *Government* ; and seeking by all the means, and arts imaginable, to ingratiate and glorifie themselves with the sordid *Rabble* : Insomuch that the King (whose Nature was too mild for such turbulent Spirits) was oblig'd afresh, to cast himself upon the Advice and Love of *Forreigners*, since no condescensions could purchase it at *Home*, where many demean'd themselves like *Tutors* and *Controllers*, few like *Subjects* and *Counsellors*.

God, we know, governs the Hearts of *Princes*, and sends them such *Ministers*, as the quality of the Subject meriteth : for *Montford* (a *French-man*) became the next Object of the Kings Delight ; being a Gentleman of choice *Blood*, *Education* and *Feature* : And to so fond a degree did the heady affection of the *Sovereign* dote upon him, that, in his very Entrance into *Grace*, he made him *Earl of Leicester*, to the general dissatisfaction of the *Nobility* ; and gave him (to the no less offence of the *Clergy*, by violating the *Rights* of the *Church*) his *Vow'd*, *Vail'd* *Sister*, to *Wife*. Some have denied this *Act* of the Kings to be more than common *Policy*, as making the Tie of his *Favorites* *Dependency* the strength of his *Assurance*, so *Both* at his will. But *Montford* growing wanton, upon this *Allyance* of his *Master* ; forgets *Moderation* ; *Discretion*, in *Youth*,

Youth, seldom attending great and sodain *Fortunes*. He takes the manage of all *Publick Affairs* into his own hand, and engrosseth the disposal of all *Favours* and *Preferments*; so that all suites are address'd to him, and the King becomes (in effect) but as a *Cipher* set to add to this *Figure* the more of *Number*. Great is the Error of a Prince when the *Hope* of the *Subject* comes to recognize it self beholden to the *Servant*, for that, which ought to be acknowledg'd as the immediate Bounty and Goodness of himself: And though they are not to be deny'd the privilege of advancing above the rest, some trusty *Friend*, to whom they may communicate their nearest *Passions*, yet ought they so to temper the Current of *Favour*, as not to darken the Lustre of their *Regalities*.

The Great and Gravest Men beholding the *unworthy* thus to deal *alone*, in that which ought of Right, to have pass'd through *their* hands; and to step over all *their* heads, to the greatest *Honours* and *Offices*; began to repine; but upon second thoughts, they ran along with the rising Grace of the Kings *Half-Brethren*, though *Strangers*, hoping, by this way of proceeding, to *divide* that Power which, otherwise, they saw it impossible to *Break*. Yet *Leicester*, being confident of his Masters Love, and impatient of bearing either *Rival* in *Favour*, or *Partner* in Rule, opposeth them all: But he found, at length, in his *Ebb* of kindness, the fortune of *others*; and that the King could with as much ease transfer his *Phansie*, as he had settled his *Affections*. And in truth, extraordinary must needs be the *Artifice* and *Address* of that man, that is able to keep himself afloat in the stream of a *Monarchs* good Opinion; in regard that the change of his *Will*, (which for the most part is strongly influenc'd by *Phansie*, and soon cloyed) is hardly to be arrested. To effect this, the *Favourite* must solely attend the Honour and Service of his Ma-
ster

ster ; and (abandoning all other Considerations) insinuate himself into his *inward Inclinations* ; winding into a necessity of *Employment*, by discharging the *Offices* of most *Sesrecy*, in reference either to *publick Service*, or the *Princes* peculiar *Pleasures* : He must also be careful to suppress *Competitors*, by the hands of *others*, conceal in *Publick*, his own *Greatness*, by counterfeit Affectations of *Humility* ; and in his persuite of *Authority*, he is to cast a shew as if his *Promotions* were the work of *others*, or of *Conveniency*, rather than of any great *Ambition* of his own.

But now, upon this Advantage, the Reines of Rule were possess'd by the ambitious *Lords* and entrusted (as *Henry Knighton* says) in the hands of the Kings *Half-Brethren*, *Adam*, *Guido*, *Godfrey*, and *William* ; the King contenting himself (being left to act his own part, as before) with the *Shadow* only, and *License* of a great *Fortune*. And to say the truth, he was ever *Wyer-drawn*, when he was so happy as to have about him such worthy Servants as would urge and suggest things that were for his Honour. But these *Masters*, on the contrary, being puff'd up with the conceit of having no *Superiour*, made it their busines by gentle Words and Flatteries, to seduce the unsteady mind of the King from the Path of *Reason* ; thereby to gain to themselves the privilege of doing what they list. So that they fell immediately to filling the *Courts of Justice*, and *Places of Trust*, with their own *Country-men* ; exacting of whom, how, and what they would ; wasting the *Publick Treasure*, and *Crown Lands*, to the enriching of themselves, and dependents ; setting Prices upon all *Offences* ; and squaring the *Law* according to the *Rule* of their own *Breasts* : And upon any Complaint of the *Subject* the usual *Reply* of their Servants was, *How'le ye help your self ; for the Kings Pleasure's in my Masters Pocket* ? Nay to so insupportable a degree of *Licentiousnes*. did these *Strangers* proceed ; that they,

they seem'd rather to have entr'd the *Land* by *Conquest*, than upon *Invitation*: they enforc'd upon the great men not *Obedience* only, but *Servitude* and reduced the meaner sort to so wretched a degree of *Poverty*, that they might justly say they *had nothing*. Yet lest the *Groanes* of his *People*, and the wickedness of his *Ministers*, should come to the King's Ear, by the means of good and able Men; they deny all such the least Accels: *Suspicion* (being the best preserver of her own *Deserts*) still keeps a strict eye upon those that have a due sense of *Honour* and *Virtue*; as fearing them most. Thus by the *Inability* of the Prince, the Government becomes a Prey to these *Lawless Minions*; which occasions infinite Corruptions and Disorders in all the *Members* of the *State*; all presuming upon his weakness, do endeavour to grasp at an *Arbitrary Authority*, that they may make *Profit* of it, and easily permit the increasing of *Ill*, as the ready way to make their own *Fortunes*.

These *Confusions* were usher'd in by a *Famine*, and that so violent an one, that the king is forc'd to direct *Writs* to the several *Counties*, to bury their *Dead*, they were so Numerous: The *Dearth* continues, and then fell the *Sword* so raging so terribly, that no man durst walk abroad without *Arms*; all the *Villages* being left as a Prey to the tumultuous *Rabble*; who raving up and down, by the *Connivance* of such as ought to have suppreſ'd them; it plainly appear'd, that the *Faction* *Lords*, whom the King suspected, had fomented and given Life to the *Comotion*; *Seditious Peers* ever bringing *Fewel* to such *Popular Fires*.

Neither was the *Church* it self without a busie Part in this *Tragical Scene*: For the *Bishops* of *Worcester* and *Lincoln* (being well-wishers to *Montford* and his *Faction*) were

were far engaged. In such Designs *Church-men* are never wanting ; and the distaste of the establish'd *Government* as well *Ecclesiastical* as *Civil*, will ever be a *Knot of Strength* for such unquiet Spirits, who are as greedy after *Innovations* in the *Church*, as in the *State* ; and ever crying up some new *Model of Policy* or other ; such as is most relishing to the *giddy Multitude*, who (at this time) were mightily offended (and not without reason neither) at the new *Courts* of the *Clergy*, their *Pomp, Rapaciousness*, and the *Extortions* of the *Pope*. This was a fair pretext for the factious part of the *Clergy* so far to pursue the *Orders, Ceremonies* and *Constitutions* of the *Church* with bitter *Speeches* and *Invectives* ; that some of them incur'd the sentence of *Excommunication* at *Rome*, and of *Treason* at *Home* : they enjoining the Earl of *Leicester*, as he tendered his *Salvation*, to ~~maintain the Cause~~ (meaning his *Rebellion*) to the very Death ; and asserting, that the *Peace of the English Church* was never to be establish'd but by the *Material Sword*. But that could never (surely) be the soundest *Doctrine* (what ever might be pretended) which was only to be propagated by *War and Licence* ; seeing the *first Church* (contrary-wise) grew up, by *Fasting and Prayer*. True *Piety* obliges the *Subject* to *desire a Good Sovereign*, but to *bear with a Bad one* ; and take the *Burthen of Princes* with a bended *Knee* ; so, in time, to deserve *Abatement* ; rather than resist *Authority*. *Church-men* ought not always, therefore, to be our *Oracles*, as to matters of *Loyalty and Allegiance*, they may safely inform us of our *Duty* in difficult *Poynts of Religion* ; and where an humble ignorance is a secure knowledge, we may rely upon them ; but they are not to be harken'd to in their clamorous *Harangues* against *Authority*.

Now to remedy all these Confusions, and supply the Kings necessities, a *Parliament* was call'd at last ; much to

the liking of those Lords, who as little meant to *Relieve* the *King*, as they did to *Heal the State*; their End, at that time, being only to lay open, at *Home*, the *Poverty* of their *Master*; lessen his Reputation, *A broad*; and in those times of *Privilege*, to breath out their *Passions* freely. Here they began to twit him with the *Wrong* he had done to the *Publick*, in engrossing the choyce of the *Chief Justice*, *Chancellor*, and *Treasurer*; who ought not (they said) to have been *Elected*, but by the *Common Counsel* of the *Realm*; highly applauding the Resolution of the *Bishop of Chichester*, in refusing to surrender the *Great Seal*, but in *Parliament*, where he receiv'd it. Then they charge him with having conferr'd all the places of *Trust* and *Profit*, in his disposal, upon *Forreigners*; and leaving his *English Subjects* unrewarded; with having ruin'd the *Merchants Trade* by the introducing of *Malevolts*, and imposing of *Heavy Customs*; with having violated the *Common Liberty*, by *Non obstantes* in his *Patents*, thereby to secure *Monopollies* for his private *Favorites*; with having taken the *Bread* out of the Peoples mouths, and forced away their *Horses* from the very *Plow*; with sending his *Justices* into the *Country*, to oppress and fleece the *People*, by *fol'd Actions*, and false *Accusations*; telling him that *Sr. Robert de Purfloe* had extorted great *Summs* of money fr^u.. the *Borderers* of his *Forrests*, upon pretence of *Encroachments*. So that they were amazed (they said) to hear, that he should now demand *Relief* of them; since the *Commonalty* was so miserably pill'd, pol'd, and impoverish'd, by the multitude of former *Contributions*, that they were incapable of making any sort of supply. And therefore they suggested to him, that, they being able to prove his needless *Expences*, since the *Kingdom* began to be oppress'd, to have amounted to above eight hundred thousand pound; it was but fitting that he should call to account, and pluck from his *Favorites*, who had gleaned the *Treasure* of the *Kingdom*,

Kingdom, and shared the old *Crown-Lands* amongst themselves: Several of them having, in a short space, from the Inheritance of an *Acre* advanced into the Possession of an *Earldom*; instancing in the Case of one *Mansel* (an inferior *Clerk*) who rose from *Nothing*, to spend at the rate of four thousand Marks (beside fifty *Promotions* that he had engross'd, in the *Church*) in *annual Revenue*; they being of *Opinion*, that more moderate *Fees* ought to have contented a *Pen-man* that was no better qualified than with the ordinary fruits of a *Writing-School*. Yet they assured his Majesty after all, that if a *Reasonable Supply* would suit with his Occasions; they were ready so far to testifie their Obedience in that particular, as his Behaviour should fairly merit: setting a day (says *Matt. Paris*) by which the King was to redress the *Abuses* and *Corruptions* of his *Court*, and work into the good *Opinion* of the *Nobles*.

The time being come, and he having ratified afresh the *Great Charter*, admitted into his *Council* some persons of the *Commons Election*, and promised for the future to apply himself for *Counsel* to *Natives*, not *Forreigners*; they at length granted him such an *Allowance* as left him at their *Devotion* for a *further Supply*. Thus *Parliaments*, that (*Before*) were ever a *Medicine* to heal up any *Rupture* in the *Princes Fortunes*, grew (*now*) to be worse than the *Disease*; malignant *Humours* being more predominant in them than well-composed *Tempers*.

The King having by this, fully discovered the *Drift* of his rebellious *Lords*; and finding that they took advantage of his *Necessities*, to enslave him; begins now to act the good *Husband*, closeth his hand of *Waste*, and resolves (though too late) to bear himself upon his own *Legs*. But this Experience is still pernicious to the *Private*, and dangerous to the *Publick Weal* of a *State*; as not being

able to *do*, but by *undoing*, nor to discern *Order*, till *Disorder* shews it. And yet still Alas ! such was his easiness and flexibility, when he came to be prest hard by his *French Minions*; that he was not capable of withholding his hand from their insatiable *Desires*, and endless *squanderings*: Insomuch that it then became a *By-word*, *Our Inheritance is posseſſ'd by Aliens, and our Houses by Strangers*. Dependents upon a King that is excessive in *Largeſſes*, become exorbitant in their *Demand's*; measuring them not by *Reason*, but example: *Past favours* are never reckon'd upon, nor any *Bounty* valued but what is purely *Future*; and look how much a Prince disables himself by *Giving*, so much the poorer he is of *True Friends*: such *Prodigality*, in a *Sovereign*, ever concluding in the *Spoyl* and *Plunder* of his *Subjects*.

But before the King would again submit himself to so many bold and strict *Inquiries* of his *Disloyal Subjects*, as he had endured the last *Parliament*; he resolves to try and undergo all shifts, and extremities, that necessity and a great mind, could impose upon him. First therefore, he exposes the *Crown-Lands*, then his *Jewels*, to sale; pawns *Gascoyn*; and after *That*, his *Imperial Crown*: And when his *Credit* would serve him no longer, (having so often fail'd of his word) nor any thing of his *own* left to raise mony upon; he then pawns the *Jewels* and *Ornaments* of *St. Edwards Shrine*; and at the long run, (being destitute of means to defray the *Charge* of his *Court*) was forced to break up house, and with his Queen and Children to press upon the *Charity* of his *Subjects* for his *Daily Bread*.

Having thus, by *Imprudence*, again reduced himself to this low *Ebb*; the *Rebellious Lords* grew more and more *intractable*, in *Confidence* that the *Sovereign Power* would, now

now at last, inevitably fall a prey to their ambitious *Machinations*; which, that it might the sooner come to pass, they coveted nothing more passionately, than to drive the King into *Want*, that so they might constrain him to call a *Parliament*; as phansyng to themselves that *Subjects*, at such times, seem *more* than they should be, *Princes*, left. In order hereunto, they take a great deal of pains to propagate false and seditious Rumours of the Kings intention to repair his broken *Fortunes* by the Ruine of those of his *Subjects*; and that having nothing left of his own, he might and intended to force from *others*; further insinuating, that Princes will never *Want*, so long as the people has the means of *Supplying* them. This scandalous *Alberson* had the wished for Effect; for it troubled the *State*; and the flame would questionless have advanced *Higher*, had not the King affwag'd it, by *Proclamations*; wherein he declared, that he was not insensible of the evil Arts that had been made use of to seduce his Liege People into an ill Opinion of his *Person* and *Government*, by false and groundless Suggestions and Surmises, of his designing to oppres them in their just *Liberties* and *Proprieties*; by such undue practises (he said) they laboured to withdraw them from their Duty and Allegiance: He caution'd them to give no heed to, and beware of such malicious Disturbers of the *Publick Peace*; and assured them, that he had made his Letters *Patent* purely to the end that they might be satisfied as to his readiness and resolution to defend them from the oppression of the Great *Lords*, and inviolably to maintain to them their lawful *Customs*, *Privileges* and *Immunitiess*, in every Branch of them. But for all this yet, he found that *Majesty* and *Right* were not to be kept afloat, without *Purse* and *Power*; and that himself wanted so much of *Both*, as was requisite for stopping the Breach in his own *Revenue*, and his *Subjects Loyalty*: Wherefore he betakes himself, at length

length to the Bosom of his People for *Relief* and *Counsel*.

He called a *Parliament* at *Oxford* ; where his necessities encountered so many undutiful Demands, that he was forced to surrender to their rebellious *Will* his *Royal Power*. For the *Commons*, looking upon themselves as the Patrons of the peoples *Liberties*, press'd the King to give way to the entrusting the *Manage* of the *State* in the hands of *four and twenty* ; *twelve* of them to be of their *own Election*, and the *rest* to be chosen by *himself* ; who, in all things else, was left a meer *Cypher* : Nay, and even in *this Case*, either through *Fear* or *Negligence* he fill'd up his number with *Montford*, *Glocester* and *Spencer* ; which errour, over and above the weakening of his own *Party*, won to those his late *Opposites* an Opinion of having got a great *Interest* in his Favour. This *Parliament* it should seem, never dreamt of a *Perpetuation* ; for otherwise, they might, probably, have had it for the asking. But yet they got what served their Turn ; for by this one *Act* he parted with his Right of *Electing* either *publick Officer* or *private Servant* ; and brought himself under a necessity of dispoyleing his *Half-Brethren* and their *Followers*, banishing them the *Realm* by an *Instrument* under his own hand ; and of commanding his *Writ pro Transportatione Fratrum suorum* to be directed to the Earles of *Hartford* and *Surry*, to prohibit their carrying on Board with them either *Mony*, *Arms*, or *Ornaments*, other than in the manner prescribed. After their departure, he ordered the men of *Bristol* not to suffer any *Strangers*, or *Kinsmen* of his, to land in their *Port*, but so to demean themselves in this particular, as they would answer it to his *Lords* and *him*. Thus we may see how easily mens Estates do change in an Instant ; and how difficult a thing it is to enjoy *quietly* what was gotten *unjustly*. And now *Richard Earl of Cornwall*, and *King of the Romans*, (King *Henrie's* own Brother) being at this time

time beyond the Seas, is by Letter tamper'd with under-hand, to make a shew of Ratifying, by Oath, and voluntary Consent, those former Restrictions of Regal Power : which, though he submitted to, yet would not the *Lords* suffer either the *King*, or *him* to enter *Dover Castle*; (the Key of the Kingdom) they having furnish'd it and most of the other *Forces* of Reputation and Strength in the Nation with *Governours* of their own *Election*, and *Sworn* respectively to the *State*. The like assurance did they also exact of all *Sheriffs*, *Coroners*, *Bayliffs*, and other *Publick Ministers*; examining the Behaviour of many, by strict Commission upon *Oath*; hereby to curry Favour with the *Vulgar*, who groaned under their late Extortions. But their Chief end in all this, was no other, (as it afterwards appear'd) than by displacing the faithful *Servants* of the *King*, upon pretence of their being tainted with *Malignancy*, to open a way for the introducing of their own *Dependents*.

Having thus changed the *Sole Power* into the *Rule of many*, and those by *popular Election* too; they perswaded themselves, that by establishing this Form of *limited Monarchy*, they had wholly suppress'd all thoughts of hankering afresh after the whimsical humours of *licentious Sovereignty*. But it fell out quite otherwise; for now every man began to value himself upon his own *Abilities*, and to crack his *Skull* upon any *Design* that might probably enlarge the *Boundarys* of his *Authority* and *Command*. The *Grandees* also fell to rending and lopping off from the *Revenues* and *Seigniories* of the *Crown*, all such *Lands* and *Manours* as bordered upon any of their own *Seats*; pressing upon the *Kings Subjects*, and *Tenants*, to a most insupportable degree of *Servitude*. Insomuch that by raising *petite Annuities* into great *Honours*, and tearing asunder the *Royal Prerogative*; they made themselves, (of Subjects,

Subjects, whilst they kept within the bounds of Duty,) so many *Tyrants*, upon the loss of their *Loyalty*; involving the people in an extremity of *Slavery* and *Oppression*: And yet they bore all with *Patience*; for *Custom* being the only ease of Excess of *Misery*, men were contented to lay the foundation of *Servitude* by the length of *Sufferance*; which found neither End nor Abatement, until the quiet part of the Kings *Reign*.

Now *Montford, Gloucester, and Spencer* (the *Heads* of this *Conspiracy*) having, by the late Provisions, drawn into the hands of the *twenty four Tribunes of the People*, the entire management of all Affairs; and finding this *Power* to be yet too much dispers'd, to answer their *Expectations*; compelled the King to call another *Parliament*; where they got the authority of the *Twenty four* assigned over to *themselves*, and erected a *Triumvirate* for their own ends only, and not for reforming *Abuses*, and settling the Nation, as they at first gave out. And thus by the Gratification of these *Private Interests*, the *Publick* was staid, for a time: But yet all this *Fuzzle* and *Artifice*, was only to make the way the smoother for one of them to become *perpetual Dictator*: *Ambition* is never so high, but that it still labours to advance a step further; and that Station which lately seemed *Inaccessible*, is now lookt upon but as a *Cocks-Stride*; that which was *Great*, in the *Persuite*, seeming *Inconsiderable*, in the *Possession*. These *Three Elect nine Counsellours* (*Three* of them at least to make a *Quorum*) who were to dispose of and fortifie *Castles*, and transact other Affairs of the *Realm*. But the *Chief Justice, Chancellour, Treasurer*, and all other *Officers*, greater or less, they reserve the Choice of to *themselves*: binding the King so very strictly to this hard *Bargain*, that he submits to pass an *Instrument* to them under the *Great Seal*, and *Oath*, whereby he actually discharged them from their *Allegiance*

ance when ever he should attempt to assume to himself the Royal Dignity ; declaring it to be lawful (in such Case) for the whole Nation to rise up as one man, and, (having no Obligation to him) by force to reduce him into Order.

And yet not long after ; this *Prodigy of Fortune* (whom she had made a wretched *Example* of her *Inconstancy*) finding no part of his *Sovereignty* left him, but the bare *Title* ; and even that precarious too ; craves Aid of *Pope Urbinus*, the fourth, against his disloyal *Subjects* ; who arm'd him with *Excommunications* against all that should not forthwith return to their Duty ; and Cancell'd his *Oath*, and *Contract* ; in regard that it was made when he could not properly say that he was at *Liberty* ; *Force* having no power to create a *just Interest*.

But the *Lords*, having now imp'd their wings with *Eagles* Feathers, and liking no *Game* but what was rak'd out of the *Ashes* of *Monarchy* ; boldly make head against their *Sovereign* : And that they might be the better able to cope with him, call in the *French* to their Assistance. Thus again did the *Commonwealth* turn her *Sword* against her own *Breast* ; and invite her antient Enemy to the *Funeral* of her *Liberty* ; so that it was a great *Providence* that she fell not, at this time, under a *Forreign Yoke*. Now though these men were much more apprhcensive of their own *Disgrace* than of others *Miseries* ; yet could they find no better *Pretext* for *private Interest*, than that of the *Publick*. Wherefore at the entry of this *Rebellion* they cryed out for *Liberty* ; though when it drew near an end, they never spoke *word* of it. Well ! at *Lewis* the Armies met, and the King endeavours a *Reconciliation*, but in vain ; for Arguments are ever unprofitable, when *Justice* is inferiour to *Force*. Wherefore the *Sword* de-

cides the *Controversie*, and makes the two *Kings* and their eldest *Sons*, *Prisoners*.

The *Person* and the *Power* being now both of them in the hands of *Montford* and *Glocester*; found no other means of *Security*, or expectation of *Liberty*, than what the emulous *Competition* of *Greatnes* (which began to break forth between these two mighty *Rivals*) gave hope of: For *Leicester* designing, (by engrossing from his *Partner* the *Person* of the *King*, and securing to his *Followers* the best part of the *Spoil*) to draw more fruit from this *Advantage*, than, in *Fellowship*, it could yield, dissolv'd the *Knot* of all their *Amity*. Thus we may observe that *equal Authority*, with the *same Power*, is ever fatal to all great *Actions*; for to reduce minds to so even a pitch that they should not have some strings of *Disagreement*, is absolutely impossible. *Montford* having thus broken all faith with his *Confederates*, as well as *Duty* to his *Sovereign*; left the *Path* of *Moderation* and *Wisdom*, to approach the *King* by that of *Haughtiness* and *Distrust*; plying him with pretences that his *Arms* and *Ends* were evermore directed to the good of the *Publick*, and the ease of the *People*; that in all *this* he entertain'd no private *Passion*, in opposition to the sense of his *Allegiance*; but was capable of regulating his *Desires* according to his *just Power*, and consequently to his *Majesties Satisfaction*, in case he would be rul'd; that is to say, (as he explain'd himself) command the *Forts* and *Castles* of his now *Opposite*, *Glocester*, and the rest, to be deliver'd up into his hands. It was no easie matter, we may well imagine, for the *King* thus to be tutor'd by his inferiour, and *Vassal*: But *Necessity*, in such *Cases*, commonly bears down before it all *Formalities*: And therefore this poor *Prince* who (lying at the *Victors* *Discretion*) seem'd to have been rais'd, only to shew the *Inconstancy* of *Fortune*, and the *Vanity* of man; suited himself

himself with incomparable *Wisdom* according to the Exigences of the *Times*: Neither could *Humility* injure *Majesty*, when the only means to contein Spirits so insolent within due bounds, was *Dissimulation*. Wherefore he summons, in Person, the *Forts* of his faithfulllest *Friends* to yield to his greatest *Enemies*; entering them, in shew, as his *Lodging*, but, in effect, as his *Prison*; and sees himself forc'd to take *Law* from him, to whom he lately thought to have given it. *Leicester* is now become the *Darling* of the *Rabble*, who easily crouch and change to every new *Master*; but yet the Sober and considering part of the Nation durst not venture to sayl along with his *Fortune*, by the Light of his *Glory*; as knowing well that *Crystal*, though it fairly glitters, yet is soon broken; and that as the *Ascent* of *Usurpation* is slippery, so the *Top* is tottering, and the *Fall* dreadful. To account this man therefore at the very height of his false Felicity to be truly *Happy*, was but to give the name of the *Image* to the *Mettle* that was not yet molten: For by this time the imprison'd *Prince* had made an *Escape*, and was fast assur'd of *Glocester* upon the ty of his great *Mind*, and *Discontent*. Wherefore they both of them united with the shattered *Remnant* of the *Loyal Army*, and, by a speedy march, arriv'd unlookt for, upon the banks of the unarmed Troops of the secure Rebels quartering about *Evesham*; whom they instantly assayl'd; as knowing it to be no fit season to give time, when no *time* could assure so much as *Expedition* promis'd. *Spencer*, and other *Lords* of that *Faction*, made toward the King for *Mercy*; but could not get clear of the *Press*, being hurry'd along the Stream, and perished in the Confusion. We are to consider that *Publick Motion* depends in a great measure upon the *Conduct* of *Fortune*, *Private* on our own *Carriage*: And we must take heed how we run down steep Hills with *heavy Bodies*, which being once in motion, are hurry'd on by their own

weight, and Stops are then no longer *Voluntary*. Now *Leicester* being at that instant with the King, and out of the *Storm*, might have got away ; if his *Hope*, and *Courage* had not encreas'd his *Resolution* with his *Misfortune* : He could neither abandon his *Followers*, nor his *Ambition* ; so that improving *Adversity* into an exercise of *Virtue*, he *came*, and *fell*.

The King being by this successful *Turn* freed and obey'd ; began to enquire into the ground of his former *Miscarriages* ; and why that *Virtue* and *Providence* which had so long settled and supported the *English Empire* in the greatest Lustre and Reputation, throughout the Reign of his Glorious *Ancestors* ; should now turn tail upon Him, and Confederate with his *Enemies* ; to the almost absolute destruction of the *State*, and as if her *Genius* had quite forsook her : Upon due *Search*, he finds his *squandering hand* to have made too bold with the *Substance* and *Estates* of his *People* ; and that the rapacious Exorbitances of his *Civil Ministers*, the Licentiousness of his *Martial Followers*, his own harsh *Demeanour* and *Inaccessibleness*, and his neglect of keeping his *Word*, had lost him his *Nobility* at home : And that his *Necessities*, which forc'd him to make Merchandise of *Peace* and *War*, as his last *Refuge* ; and to put himself into the power of Persons *doubtful* or *injur'd* ; together with his giving himself up to a *sensual Security*, and entrusting with the management of the *State*, base, griping and unworthy *Officers*, whose *Counsels* were ever more *subtle* than *Substantial*, had wounded his *Reputation* abroad, and thrown down those Pillars of *Sovereignty*, *Credit* and *Veneration*. Wherefore he enters upon his regain'd *Authority* with *Gentleness* and *Clemency* ; wholly passing over the faults of *most* of the *Rebels* : (A gracious kind of pardoning, not so much as to take notice of the *Offence* !) and so forgot the *Rest*, that they might live, but

but to the Glory of his *Goodness* ; for the fewer kill'd, the more remain to adorn the *Trophy*. *Tyrants* indeed shed Blood for *Pleasure*, but *Kings*, out of *Necessity* ; And yet lest his *Justice* and *Power* might suffer too much, by his *Grace* and *Mercy*, some few he punish'd with easie *Fines*, others, by *Exile* ; as the two *Guiltless*, yet unpity'd Sons of the Arch-Traytor *Leicester*. So odious (we see) is *Treason* in the *Head*, that it involveth the innocent *Children* in an everlasting *Distrust* ; and that which in others is but *Suspicion*, in them is *Guilt*. Then he proceeds to confer upon the constant adherers to his broken Fortunes, the *Forfeitures* of his *Enemies* ; but with much more *Wariness* than before : as having found (by *Experience*) immoderate *Liberality* to be but a weak means to win *Love* ; because it lost more in the *Gathering* than it gain'd in the *Giving*. A *Bounty* plac'd without *Respect*, is taken without *Gratitude* ; discredits the *Receiver*, and detracts from the judgment of the *Bestower* ; blunting the *Appetites* of such as draw their *Hopes* of *Preferment* from measures of *Fidelity* and *Service*. Thus at last he learn'd that *Reward* and *Reprobation* discreetly temper'd, do Ballance *Government* ; and that it much importeth a *Prince* to keep that Hand *steady* and *equal*, that holds the *Scale*.

In the next place he appli'd himself to the correcting of his own *natural Infirmitie*s : Wisely judging, that though the Princes *Manners* are only a *mute Law*, yet have they more of *Life* and *Vigour* in them, than those of *Letters*. So that though he might now and then touch upon the skirts of *Vice*, yet was he ever after cautious of entering the *Circle*. And whereas the Crimes and Enormities of the great Men of his *Court* were, at this time, become so extravagantly numerous, that they were drawn into *Example* and *Imitation* : He purg'd this likewise with singular exactitude of *Judgment* and *Severity* ; knowing full well that .

that it was it that gave life to the *Moderation* or *Intemperance* of the Commonwealth.

He reduc'd the Expences of his *House* to the just Rule of his proper *Revenue*; and was often heard to say that *his former excessive squanderings had torn open an Issue of his Subjects Blood*. The Fury and Insolence of the *Soldiery* (nowy become *Licentious*, by means of the *Civil Wars*) he spent and corrected by forreign *Expeditions*: which he was the rather induc'd to do, upon finding that the *peaceable* (only) bore the Burthen of all the late *Calamities*; and that the other were never satisfi'd, but in the miseries of the *Innocent*; being as ready as ever, if they should find no *Enemies abroad*, to seek out some at *Home*. Neither did he forget to examine or redress, by strict *Commission*, the Rigour and Corruption of his *Judicial Officers*; as apprehending, that the sence of their *Severity* would raise a murmur of his own *Cruelty*.

He fill'd up the seats of *Judgment* and *Council* with men of Noble Extraction. For such do with less offence attract generous Spirits to respect and Veneration. He no longer measureth their *Abilities* by *Favour*, or *private Recommendation*, as before; but by *publick Vogue*: For though every man in particular may deceive and be deceived, yet is not possible for one man to deceive all; or all, one.

And the better to set off his own *Capacity*, and to dis-cover to the World what part he intended, hereafter, to bear in all *deliberate Expeditions*; he sits himself in *Council* daily, disposing Affairs of most weight, in his own *Person*: for *Councillers* be they never so wise, or worthy, are only *Accessaries*, yet, not *Principals*, in the support of the *Government*; their busines is *Subjection*, not *Fellowship*, in debates of moment; and they must be allow'd a *Privil-
lege*

lege to advise, but not authority to resolve. For as a particular Soul is essentially requisite to the Life of a *Prince*; so is a supreme and unaccountable Power, of like necessity: Without the one he cannot be truly a *Man*, and without the other he can never be securely a *Prince*. It doth also disturb both the *Minister*, and the *People*, to be forc'd to pay obedience to one that is Incompetent of his own *Greatness*; and unworthy of his *Royal Fortunes*.

This wonderful *Change* in the *General State*, which so far dispair'd (erewhile) of recovering her former *Liberty*, that she sought for nothing but the easiest kind of *Servitude*; brought over the *People* again (with admiration) to the *Kings Devotion*, and their own *Duty*. So that who ever designes to lay a Foundation of *Greatness* upon *popular Love*, must be careful of securing to them *Ease* and *Justice*; because they are ever prone to measure the band of their *Obedience* by the benefit that they daily receive.

Now this *Calm* attended (ever after) this *Kings Age* and *Hearst*; and he liv'd to train up his *Successor*, and make him a Participant of his own *Experience* and *Authority*: His hard *Education* wean'd him from those *Intemperances* which makes *Men* Inferiour to *Beasts*, and prompted him to affect *Glory* and *Virtue*, which gave him a Superiority over *Men*. Insomuch that all the Actions of his *Future Reign* were Exact Rules of *Discipline*, and *Policy*, and worthy the Imitation of his best of *Successors*; who, as he was the *first* of his Name (*Edward*) after the *Conquest*; so was he also the *first* that thoroughly reform'd the *Abuses* crept into the *Law*, and settled the *Commonwealth*; (justly meriting the Title of *Englands Justinian*) delivering the Nation out of the *Thraldom* of the *Peers*; and by all his *Actions* (afterward) approving himself capable himself.

1. **Principles of Governing** (or this stage, **Principles of
World Government**)

Thus by the Injustice of our Enemies, more than by our own Discretions, do we many times become both Wise and Fortunate.

FINIS.

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